

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 TEHRAN 05346 190649Z  
ACTION NEA-07

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-05 L-01  
NSC-05 NSCE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 PM-03 EA-06 EUR-08  
DHA-02 /054 W  
-----190655Z 003679 /13

R 190412Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3091  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
USINT BAGHDAD  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY KABUL  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 5346

LIMDIS NOFORN

USCINCEUR ALSO FOR DEPCINCEUR

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, IR, US, PK, AF, XF, UR  
SUBJ: AUDIENCE WITH SHAH

1. AFTER MY PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS MORNING JUNE 18, I  
HAD AUDIENCE WITH SHAH WHICH LASTED ONE HOUR AND TWENTY  
MINUTES. MY RECEPTION WAS MOST CORDIAL AND I FOUND THE SHAH  
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AS INTELLIGENT, ARTICULATE AND WELL-INFORMED AS I HAD BEEN LED  
TO EXPECT. I ALSO FOUND HIM FIRM IN HIS OPINIONS AND CONFIDENT  
OF HIS JUDGMENTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE WAS FAR LESS  
TAUT, AUSTERE AND RIGID THAN I HAD ANTICIPATED, WITH A  
NICE TOUCH OF HUMOR SHOWING THROUGH HERE AND THERE.

2. THE FIRST HALF-HOUR OF THE AUDIENCE WAS A MONOLOGUE

WHICH I INTERRUPTED ONLY ONCE OR TWICE. IT COVERED FAMILIAR GROUND AND SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN BASICALLY A DUPLICATE OF THE DISQUISITION WHICH HE MADE TO SECRETARY VANCE. HOWEVER, THERE APPEARED TO BE MORE STRESS THAN IN PREVIOUS INSTANCES ON HIS "PROBLEMS IN THE EAST"-- PARTICULARLY BALUCHISTAN. HE WAS MOST PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE OF PAKISTAN AND INDIA, BOTH OF WHICH HE EXPECTS TO "FRAGMENT". HE WAS RATHER CAUSTIC IN HIS COMMENTS ON AFGHANISTAN.

3. SIMILARLY HE FELT THE OUTLOOK FOR THE MIDDLE EAST (HE TOOK PAINS TO POINT OUT THAT IRAN IS "WEST ASIA") WAS DOUR. HE REGARDS THE NEW ISRAELI REGIME WITH CONCERN AND FEELS SADAT IS SHAKY. HE SEES THE RUSSIANS "COMING BACK IN AGAIN" UNLESS THE ARAB-ISRAELI AFFAIR IS SETTLED IN 18 MONTHS. HE IS TRUST OF LIBYA AND IRAQ WAS MANIFEST.

4. ON RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, HE EXPRESSED SATISFACTION BOTH IN HIS FORMAL REMARKS AT THE SHORT PRESENTATION CEREMONY AND IN THE PRIVATE SESSION. HE IS KEEN TO MEET PRESIDENT CARTER ("WHO MAY BECOME ONE OF YOUR GREAT PRESIDENTS") AND WISHES TO HAVE CONTINUING CLOSE CONTACT ON A BROAD RANGE OF SUBJECTS. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT US POLICIES ON RESTRAINT OF ARMS SALES AND ON HUMAN RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY AS THEY MAY AFFECT THE FUTURE OF US-IRAN RELATIONS.

5. AT THIS POINT, I INTERCEDED AND THE REMAINDER OF THE AUDIENCE WAS A FRANK BUT MODERATE EXCHANGE ON SEVERAL SUBJECT, MOST PROMINENT OF WHICH WERE ARMS SALES AND HUMAN RIGHTS. I SHALL REPORT THE SUBSTANCE OF THESE  
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DISCUSSIONS IN SEPARATE CABLES, COLLATED BY SUBJECT MATTER AND REPEATED FOR INFO TO THOSE ADDRESSEES WITH NEED TO KNOW. I SHALL ALSO ELABORATE ON THE POINTS RAISED IN PARAGRAPHS TWO AND THREE FOR THE BENEFIT OF INTERESTED ADDRESSEES.

6. THE SHAH ENDED THE AUDIENCE BY SAYING THAT HE WISHED TO HAVE ME BACK IN THE NEAR FUTURE FOR MORE DETAILED DISCUSSION OF SEVERAL MATTERS. IT MAY GIVE SOME FLAVOR OF HIS TENOR TO RECOUNT THE LAST SUBSTANTIVE MATTER WE DISCUSSED -- THE NATURE OF "RUSSIAN" IMPERIALISM. HE SAID "THIS FELLOW BREZHNEV" HAS NOW MADE HIMSELF PRESIDENT AS WELL AS PARTY SECRETARY. THIS IS JUST LIKE BEING A TSAR. "HE NOW HAS AS MUCH POWER AS I HAVE, AND, AS EVERYONE KNOWS, THAT CAN BE EXTREMELY DANGEROUS."  
SULLIVAN

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** CREDENTIALS PRESENTATION, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
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**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977TEHRAN05346  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
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**Page Count:** 3  
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**Review Media Identifier:**  
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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
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**Subject:** AUDIENCE WITH SHAH  
**TAGS:** PFOR, IR, US, PK, AF, XF, UR, (PAHLAVI, MOHAMMAD REZA), (SULLIVAN, WILLIAM H)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009